2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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782
516
291
415
●771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

● [771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

798 this made the people laugh and injured his influence and reputation materially.

771 Chief Penri told me that sometimes angry Ainu women would steal and hide away or burn their husband's fetishes, and this was a bad kind of sacrilege, for the gods, missing these offerings, think they have been neglected and so, instead of bestowing their favour, send evil upon them. With such a deeply religious people as the Ainu—a people so full of that disease of religion we call superstition—this meant much, and it was not pleasant to them to be called "infidel" or "godless one."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft. There can be no mistake about that. The word used to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*, and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast bound by a curse till the desired object is attained. It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as such occult matters are always difficult to explain, I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account, while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a *shaman* one day came to me, wishing to perform certain ceremonies in order to do away with my malady. But, as I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some mischievous child, I took no notice of it.*

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah, why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

*To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic magic.

[P.263]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Teshikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches	11
Width of middle	do	28
Length, about	feet	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 716 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 297 778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing.

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,[1] which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

[1] *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu 1B6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui, provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by something, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt, inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the purpose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1. [The inau cult -- Analyst]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

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INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

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The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

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A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

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Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

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Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

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It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

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I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

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FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 192 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this work.

771 774 192 *Ramat* (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

[778] Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

[828] Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

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such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

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In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

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of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

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long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

> Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.
>
> (*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
>
> (*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

[192] [1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

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In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone.

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui.

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent.

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu.

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S.

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

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a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

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descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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978 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] [776] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*. Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive [771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.

[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-ōina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

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HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

343 Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 825 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[79]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.